

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 174516

FOR AMBASSADOR YOUNG AND AMBASSADOR WELLS ONLY FROM MAYNES

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: UN

SUBJECT: UNGA STRATEGY

1. FOLLOWING IS A DRAFT SCOPE PAPER FOR 33RD UNGA.
REQUEST YOUR REACTION BY COB THURSDAY.
2. THE 33RD GENERAL ASSEMBLY WILL BE PIVOTAL. WHILE THE
ASSEMBLY IS IN SESSION, THE SECURITY COUNCIL WILL ATTEMPT
TO RENEW UNIFIL, UNDOF AND UNEF; BOTH THE RHODESIAN AND
NAMIBIAN ISSUES WILL BE APPROACHING THEIR FINAL DENOUEMENT;
THE NEWLY CREATED COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE, WHICH REPLACED
CIEC, WILL EITHER BE JUDGED RELEVANT TO THE NORTH-SOUTH
DIALOGUE OR JETTISONED; UN MEMBERS WILL ORGANIZE THE WORK
PROGRAM OF THE NEWLY REVIVED UN COMMITTEE ON DISARMAMENT
AND THE CCD WILL SELECT NEW MEMBERS; FINALLY, THE ASSEMBLY
WILL BE CELEBRATING THE 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE UNIVERSAL
DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS WHICH MAY BRING TO THE FORE
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THE CONTINUING DISAGREEMENT OVER THE PRIORITIES GIVEN TO
COLLECTIVE VERSUS INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS OR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL
VERSUS POLITICAL AND CIVIL RIGHTS.

3. IN ADDITION, THE INTERPLAY BETWEEN OUTSIDE EVENTS AND
THE ATMOSPHERE OF THE ASSEMBLY WILL BE PARTICULARLY CLOSE
THIS YEAR. UNFAVORABLE DEVELOPMENTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

AND SOUTHERN AFRICA MAY LEAD TO A VERY CONFRONTATIONAL SESSION. THE OPPOSITE WILL ALSO BE TRUE. TO THE DEGREE THAT WE HAVE FLEXIBILITY, THEREFORE, WE SHOULD IN THE WEEKS AHEAD TRY TO TIME SOME OF OUR DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS OUTSIDE THE UN WITH THE IMPACT ON THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY IN MIND. EXAMPLES WOULD BE ACTION ON PUERTO RICO OR ON OUR NUCLEAR RELATIONSHIP WITH SOUTH AFRICA.

4. OUR OBJECTIVES AT THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

AGAINST THAT BACKGROUND, WE HAVE THE FOLLOWING OBJECTIVES AT THE FORTHCOMING GENERAL ASSEMBLY:

-- CONTINUED EFFORTS TO GAIN ACCEPTANCE BY OTHERS OF THE ADMINISTRATION'S FOREIGN POLICY IN FIELDS OF PRIORITY, SUCH AS THE MIDDLE EAST, SOUTHERN AFRICA, NORTH-SOUTH COOPERATION OVER CONFRONTATION, AND PROMOTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

-- ENCOURAGEMENT OF GENUINE NEGOTIATIONS IN SENSITIVE ISSUES OF DISPUTE LIKE THE MIDDLE EAST, NAMIBIA, AND CYPRUS TO WHATEVER EXTENT THIS IS POSSIBLE, BUT IF IT IS NOT, PREVENTING DAMAGE TO FRAMEWORKS AND OPTIONS NECESSARY FOR NEGOTIATIONS AT A LATER TIME.

-- AUTHORIZATION OF FUNDING FOR NAMIBIA THROUGH THE CONFIDENTIAL

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REGULAR UN BUDGET; DEVELOPMENT OF A BROAD SPECTRUM PROGRAM OF ECONOMIC AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE FOR NAMIBIA.

-- STRENGTHENING THE FUNCTIONING AND EFFECTIVENESS OF UN BODIES THROUGH PRACTICAL STEPS TOWARD STRUCTURAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM, WITH SPECIAL STRESS ON REFORM OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL.

-- CHANNELING THE NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE IN THE IMMEDIATE PHASE INTO AREAS WHERE THE US IS MORE LIKELY TO BE ABLE TO RESPOND, E.G., TRADE, FOOD OR ENERGY.

-- INITIATION OF A MORE SYSTEMATIC REVIEW OF UN PEACEKEEPING AND HOW THE UN CAN BE ORGANIZED TO IMPROVE ITS CAPABILITIES.

-- MAINTENANCE OF THE SOUND WORKING RELATIONSHIP WITH THE SOVIETS AT THE UN WHICH MARKED THE SSOD AND THE OUTER SPACE COMMITTEE SESSIONS.

5. THE FOLLOWING ELEMENTS OF THE INTERNATIONAL SETTING ARE

LIKELY TO AFFECT OUR OBJECTIVES AT THE ASSEMBLY:

-- THE PRIORITY THIS ADMINISTRATION HAS ATTACHED TO THE UN AND TO THIRD WORLD PROBLEMS STILL PROVIDES DIVIDENDS, ALTHOUGH IMPATIENCE WITH THE LACK OF PROGRESS, PARTICULARLY IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND ON NORTH-SOUTH ISSUES, IS MOUNTING.

-- WE WILL HAVE PUT BEHIND US AT LEAST ONE MAJOR LIABILITY, THE PANAMA CANAL ISSUE, AND IT IS LIKELY THAT THE KOREAN ITEM WILL BE DEFERRED. ON THE OTHER HAND, LAST YEAR WE ENJOYED THE POSITIVE FUTURE PROSPECTS OF RAPPROCHEMENT WITH CUBA AND VIETNAM, WHICH ARE NO LONGER IN SIGHT, AND THE
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PUERTO RICAN ISSUE IS EVOLVING IN A WAY THAT MAY MAKE US VULNERABLE.

-- THERE IS A FEELING THAT WE HAVE BEEN RELATIVELY LONG ON PRONOUNCEMENTS AND SHORT ON DEEDS WITH REGARD TO INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ISSUES. THERE IS A GROWING AMBIVALENCE WITHIN THE MEMBERSHIP ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS AND BASIC HUMAN NEEDS WITH A STRONG US POSITION CALLING FORTH MUCH MORE VOCAL SUPPORT AND MUCH MORE DETERMINED OPPOSITION.

-- OUR AFRICAN POLICY, ESPECIALLY THE NAMIBIAN EFFORT, CONTINUES TO HELP IMPROVE OUR RELATIONS WITH THE AFRICANS. BUT THE SHABA RESCUE AND AFRICAN CONCERNS OVER ALLEGED WESTERN PLANS TO CREATE AN AFRICAN INTERVENTION FORCE INTRODUCE COMPETING AFRICAN CONCERNS. WHAT HAPPENS WITH NAMIBIA MAY WELL BE DECISIVE IN DETERMINING THE AFRICAN MOOD AT THE ASSEMBLY. SHOULD EITHER THE NAMIBIAN NEGOTIATIONS BE SERIOUSLY DERAILED OR SHOULD THERE BE RENEWED RIOTING AND ACUTE REPRESENTATION IN SOUTH AFRICA OR IN RHODESIA, THE AFRICANS WILL QUICKLY TURN DURING THE NEXT ASSEMBLY TO COERCIVE MEASURES (IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL OR THE ASSEMBLY) AND THEIR ATTITUDE TOWARD US WILL THEN DEPEND, NOT MERELY ON OUR PAST EFFORTS, BUT ON OUR WILLINGNESS TO SUPPORT OR ACCOMMODATE NEW SANCTIONS TO DEAL WITH THE NEW REALITY.

-- THE MOUNTING ARAB ANXIETY ABOUT THE POLICIES OF THE NEW ISRAELI GOVERNMENT COULD LEAD TO A VERY CONFRONTATIONAL AND EVEN DANGEROUS SESSION IN MIDDLE EAST ISSUES. IF BY SEPTEMBER/OCTOBER THERE
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APPEARS NO MOMENTUM TOWARD PEACE NEGOTIATIONS, THE ARABS CAN BE VIRTUALLY CERTAIN TO TRY TO CREATE PRESSURES AGAINST US AND ISRAEL IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND THE ASSEMBLY. THE MOST SERIOUS OF THESE WOULD BE REFUSAL TO RENEW UNEF.

-- ON THE NORTH-SOUTH FRONT, WE ARE POISED BETWEEN RENEWED CONFRONTATION AND CONTINUED COOPERATION. THE NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE URGENTLY NEEDS SOME FORM OF BREAKTHROUGH COMPAREABLE TO THE CREATION OF IFAD IN 1976. THE ONLY PROMISING CANDIDATE IS THE COMMON FUND WHERE PARTIES AT THIS POINT REMAIN FROZEN.

-- THE ASSEMBLY WILL ALSO TAKE PLACE AGAINST A BACKDROP OF A CUBAN EFFORT TO PLAY A MORE DOMINANT ROLE IN THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT. THIS IN TURN HAS LED TO A BACKLASH FROM MORE MODERATE STATES LIKE YUGOSLAVIA AND INDIA. THE OUTCOME OF THIS STRUGGLE FOR INFLUENCE AT THIS POINT REMAINS UNCERTAIN.

-- ANOTHER FACTOR WHICH COULD HAVE CONSIDERABLE IMPACT DURING THE ASSEMBLY WILL BE THE WORLD CONFERENCE AGAINST RACISM WHICH TAKES PLACE IN GENEVA THIS AUGUST. OUR SUCCESS FOR THE PAST TWO YEARS IN DEFEATING ALL EXPLICIT REFERENCES TO ZIONISM-RACISM HAS DEPENDED ON THE FIRM SUPPORT OF THE AFRICANS. MANY AFRICAN STATES ARE, HOWEVER, SO DISTURBED BY OUR REFUSAL TO PARTICIPATE IN THE GENEVA MEETING (WHICH WE REGARD AS STILL TAINTED BY THE ZIONISM-RACISM FORMULATION) THAT EVEN MODERATE COUNTRIES LIKE THE IVORY COAST ARE THREATENING TO END THEIR OPPOSITION TO ARAB EXTREMISM ON THE ZIONISM-RACISM ISSUE. SHOULD THE GENEVA CONFERENCE RESURRECT THE ZIONISM-RACISM

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EQUATION, THIS WOULD FEED INTO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, AND WE COULD END UP WITH AN EXPLOSIVE SESSION.

-- THERE IS LITTLE REASON TO BELIEVE THAT THE ROLE OF THE SOVIET UNION WILL BE MORE CONSTRUCTIVE ACROSSTHE-BOARD THAN IT HAS BEEN IN RECENT ASSEMBLIES. THE SOVIETS HAVE, FOR A NUMBER OF YEARS, SOUGHT A

COOPERATIVE RELATIONSHIP WITH US ON SECURITY AND ARMS CONTROL ISSUES, BUT THE SOVIETS WILL BE POISED TO PLAY AN UNHELPFUL ROLE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA IF THEY PERCEIVE THAT THE AFRICANS ARE NOT BEHIND OUR INITIATIVES. THE TEMPERATURE OF US-SOVIET RELATIONS

WILL HAVE A BEARING ON DISCUSSIONS OF ARMS CONTROL, OUTER SPACE AND HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES.

-- FINALLY, WE APPROACH THE NEXT UNGA WITH A RECENT RECORD OF SOME IMPORTANT SUCCESSES IN MANAGING OUR MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY IN KEY AREAS FOR THE US, E.G., LAST YEAR'S SUCCESSFUL EFFORTS TO KEEP KOREA AND PUERTO RICO OUT OF THE ASSEMBLY, A BASICALLY SATISFACTORY OUTCOME IN THE SSOD AND IN THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR CONFERENCE, STALLING OF THE SOVIET EFFORT IN UNESCO FOR A DRAFT DECLARATION ON MASS MEDIA, PROGRESS ON FOOD IN FAO AND ITS ASSOCIATED BODIES, AND A SUCCESSFUL BEGINNING ON A BETTER ORGANIZED AND MORE EFFECTIVE UNDP. WHILE THESE SUCCESSES RELATE TO ONLY A PORTION OF THE UN'S BUSINESS, THEY NEVERTHELESS CONTRIBUTE TO AN IMAGE OF THE US VIGOROUSLY AND EFFECTIVELY PURSUING ITS INTERESTS.

6. OUR APPROACH TO PRIORITY POLICY AREAS COULD INCLUDE
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THE FOLLOWING:

POLITICAL/SECURITY ISSUES

-- REGARDING THE MIDDLE EAST, IT IS DIFFICULT TO PREDICT NOW WHAT WE WILL HAVE TO COPE WITH AT THE ASSEMBLY. HOWEVER, THERE ARE AT LEAST TWO GUIDELINES: WE WILL WANT TO WORK CLOSELY WITH BOTH EGYPT AND ISRAEL; AND WE WILL WANT TO URGE OTHERS NOT TO SUPPORT ANY ASSEMBLY ACTIONS WHICH, IN THE SHORT OR LONG RUN, MAKE THE PARTIES DIG IN THEIR HEELS AND WHICH THEREFORE MAKE IT HARDER TO GET REAL NEGOTIATIONS UNDERWAY. TO BE SUCCESSFUL IN THIS, WE MUST BE ABLE TO PERSUADE THE MAJORITY THAT LIFE REMAINS IN THE PEACE PROCESS.

-- THIS FALL WE COULD SEE AN ARAB ATTEMPT TO FORCE US INTO USING THE SECURITY COUNCIL AS A NEGOTIATING FORUM OR INTO CONVENING A SPECIAL SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY. THE COUNCIL IS ALSO LIKELY TO BE ACTIVATED SHOULD THE SITUATION IN LEBANON LEAD TO FOREIGN INVASION OR SHOULD THE BEGIN GOVERNMENT

AUTHORIZE SUBSTANTIAL NEW SETTLEMENTS IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. ANOTHER POSSIBILITY -- MORE LIKELY THIS YEAR THAN LAST BECAUSE OF THE EMPHASIS IN INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY HAS GIVEN HUMAN RIGHTS-- IS AN ARAB ATTEMPT TO MAKE A MAJOR HUMAN RIGHTS

ISSUE OUT OF ALLEGATIONS THAT ISRAEL SYSTEMATICALLY TORTURES ARAB PRISONERS.

-- REGARDING SOUTHERN AFRICAN ISSUES, AS INDICATED ABOVE, MUCH WILL DEPEND ON THE PROGRESS OF THE NAMIBIAN AND RHODESIAN NEGOTIATIONS.

-- ON NAMIBIA, IF THINGS CONTINUE TO GO REASONABLY
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WELL, THERE IS A POSSIBILITY THAT THE SECURITY COUNCIL MAY HAVE TAKEN THE NECESSARY DECISIONS TO ESTABLISH THE UN'S ROLE IN A PEACEFUL NAMIBIAN TRANSITION. DECISIONS ABOUT FINANCING OR DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE MIGHT THEN BE THE SIGNIFICANT GA ISSUES. IF, HOWEVER, THERE IS A MAJOR SETBACK IN THE PRESENT COURSE, THE AFRICANS ARE CERTAIN TO SEEK CHAPTER VII ACTION BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL.

-- ON RHODESIA, IT LOOKS INCREASINGLY AS THOUGH WE WILL BE FACED WITH A CRITICAL SITUATION BY THE TIME OF THE GA. WE WILL NEED TO BE PREPARED FOR THE POSSIBILITY OF DRASTIC DETERIORATION IN THE SECURITY SITUATION AND CALLS FOR ACTION. THE AFRICANS MIGHT WELL SEEK TO USE THE GA TO FURTHER UNDERMINE THE "INTERNAL SETTLEMENT" AND TO DEMONSTRATE STRONG SUPPORT FOR THE PATRIOTIC FRONT. A FIRST STEP MIGHT BE SHUTTING THE ILLEGAL FLOW OF OIL TO RHODESIA. WE WILL BE CRITICIZED FOR OUR FAILURE TO HONOR OUR OBLIGATION TO CLOSE DOWN THE US BRANCH OF THE RHODESIAN INFORMATION OFFICE. THE AFRICANS MAY SEEK TO MOVE UN EFFORTS TO A DRAMATIC NEW STAGE BY AUTHORIZING ARMED ENFORCEMENT ACTION AGAINST RHODESIA, OVERRIDING ANY VETO IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL BY RESORT TO "UNITING FOR PEACE" PROCEDURES IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY -- AS IN THE CASE FOR KOREA.

-- ON SOUTH AFRICA, WE CAN EXPECT BOTH CONTINUING CONDEMNATORY ACTIONS AGAINST APARTHEID AND MOVES FOR STRONGER COERCIVE MEASURES, PARTICULARLY IN THE NUCLEAR FIELD. IF BY THE END OF THE SUMMER WE ARE ABLE TO ANNOUNCE SOUTH AFRICAN ADHERENCE TO
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THE NPT, THIS COULD BE OF SOME HELP TO US IN THE ASSEMBLY. ANY ACTION WE COULD TAKE ON THE WIDER FOCUS WOULD ALSO HELP.

-- FINALLY, REGARDING THE KOREAN ISSUE, SO FAR THERE ARE NO SIGNS THAT THE NORTH KOREANS INTEND TO SEEK

ADOPTION OF A HOSTILE RESOLUTION. HOWEVER, WE WILL RECONSTITUTE A FRIENDLY GROUP OF LIKE-MINDED COUNTRIES (THE CORE GROUP), READY TO MOVE PROMPTLY IF THE SIGNALS SWITCH.

7. HUMAN RIGHTS

THERE ARE THREE MAIN OBJECTIVES WE WILL PURSUE AT THIS GA:

-- WE WILL GIVE GREATER PUBLICITY TO THE CONCRETE GAINS THAT HAVE BEEN MADE THE FIRST YEAR, E.G., UNPRECEDENTED ACTION AGAINST UGANDA, NEW UNESCO HUMAN RIGHTS PROCEDURES, A NEW INTEREST OF THE NON-ALIGNED IN HUMAN RIGHTS.

-- WE WILL USE THE 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE DECLARATION ON HUMAN RIGHTS TO BUILD SUPPORT WITHIN THE US FOR SENATE RATIFICATION OF THE GENOCIDE TREATY.

-- WE WILL PROTECT CURRENT UN HUMAN RIGHTS MACHINERY; USE THAT MACHINERY TO CONTINUE TO PURSUE PARTICULARLY ATROCIOUS CASES OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS, SUCH AS UGANDA, CAMBODIA, AND SOUTH AFRICA; AND AVOID PERMANENT SIDETRACKING OF SUCH PROPOSALS AS THE CREATION OF A UN HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS.

8. UN REFORM

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THE PRESIDENT'S REPORT TO THE CONGRESS ON UN REFORM HAS RECEIVED A GENERALLY FAVORABLE RECEPTION IN THE UNITED NATIONS, PARTICULARLY FROM THE WESTERN MEMBERS AND FROM KEY COUNTRIES LIKE MEXICO. WE WILL WANT TO BUILD ON THIS REACTION BY WORKING CLOSELY WITH THESE COUNTRIES IN PURSUING REFORM STEPS. OUR TOP PRIORITY IS REFORM OF THE

SECURITY COUNCIL TO MAKE IT A MORE RESPONSIVE INSTRUMENT, A SUBJECT IN WHICH THE CANADIAN FOREIGN MINISTER HAS A SPECIAL INTEREST. OUR GOAL IS REGULAR CLOSED MEETINGS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL, PERHAPS ONCE A YEAR AT THE FOREIGN MINISTER LEVEL AND MORE ROUTINELY AT THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE LEVEL, TO DISCUSS PENDING ISSUES OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY.

MEXICO HAS MADE A NUMBER OF STIMULATING PROPOSALS FOR STREAMLINING THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY. WE WILL BE WORKING CLOSELY WITH THE MEXICAN DELEGATION TO PRESS REFORM IN THIS AREA.

IN THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL FIELD OUR TOP INSTITUTIONAL PRIORITY WILL BE SEEKING A MEANINGFUL MANDATE FOR THE NEWLY CREATED POST OF UN DIRECTOR GENERAL FOR DEVELOPMENT AND ECONOMIC COOPERATION, WHOSE RESPONSIBILITIES THE INDEPENDENT HEADS OF THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES ARE ATTEMPTING TO CIRCUMSCRIBE IN AN EFFORT TO PROTECT THEIR OWN POWER.

9. ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ISSUES

THE PRESIDENT'S REVIEW OF OUR POSITIONS ON NORTH-SOUTH ISSUES CENTERS ON THREE AREAS WHERE WE BELIEVE PROGRESS IS POSSIBLE. TRADE AND AID, IF WE CAN DELIVER, DO PROVIDE REAL ECONOMIC AS WELL AS POLITICAL BENEFITS TO THE US AND

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THE DEVELOPED WORLD. IN ADDITION, THE COMMON FUND PROPOSAL IS AN IMPORTANT SYMBOL OF THE NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE ON WHICH PROGRESS IS POSSIBLE; THE QUESTION HERE IS WHETHER AN EFFORT TO PERSUADE THE CONGRESS TO ACCEPT IT CAN SUCCEED. IN ANY EVENT, THE OUTCOME OF THE PRESIDENT'S REVIEW MAY YIELD THE CENTERPIECE OF OUR GENERAL ASSEMBLY STRATEGY ON NORTH-SOUTH ISSUES.

ADDITIONAL OBJECTIVES WE WILL CONCENTRATE ON ARE:

-- KEEPING THE DIALOGUE GOING. OUR CHOSEN INSTRUMENT IS THE OVERVIEW COMMITTEE, AND WE WILL TRY TO BUILD SUPPORT OVER THE SUMMER FOR OUR POSITION THAT DISCUSSION THERE SHOULD CENTER ON AREAS OF CONVERGING INTERESTS RATHER THAN EFFORTS TO CHIP AWAY AT DEVELOPED COUNTRY POSITIONS ACROSS-THE-BOARD. IF THE OVERVIEW COMMITTEE IDEA FAILS, WE SHOULD CONCENTRATE INSTEAD ON A SERIES OF INFORMAL MINI-DIALOGUES -- INCLUDING PROMINENT CONGRESSIONAL AND BUSINESS LEADERS AS WELL AS GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS. THE SUMMIT MANLEY AND SCHMIDT HAVE BEEN DISCUSSING COULD FIT INTO SUCH A CONTINUUM OF MEETINGS,

THUS PREVENTING ANY ONE FROM TAKING ON SPECIAL SIGNIFICANCE.

-- TYING OUR AID POLICY TO SPECIFIC GOALS. FOR EXAMPLE, WE COULD EMBRACE THE HOUSE LANGUAGE ADDED TO THE FOREIGN AID AUTHORIZATION BILL CALLING FOR THE ERADICATION OF THE WORST FORMS OF POVERTY BY THE YEAR 2000 AND THE NEED TO ESTABLISH A PATTERN OF SELF-RELIANT GROWTH IN THE LEAST DEVELOPED COUNTRIES. SETTING SPECIFIC GOALS TO ACHIEVE PURSUIT OF THESE OBJECTIVES -- ERADICATION OF TROPICAL DISEASE, CLEAN WATER, FOOD PRODUCTION --

WOULD HELP DEVELOP A DOMESTIC CONSTITUENCY FOR AID
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AND WOULD WIN SOME SUPPORT FROM LDCS AS WELL. PART OF SUCH AN INITIATIVE WOULD HAVE TO BE A RESTATEMENT OF OUR BASIC HUMAN NEEDS POLICY IN MORE PALATABLE TERMS. ONE SUCH APPROACH WOULD BE TO LINK IT WITH HUMAN RIGHTS, AND SPECIFICALLY ENDORSE A "RIGHT TO ECONOMIC GROWTH AND TECHNOLOGICAL PROGRESS".

-- POINTING THE WAY TOWARDS AUTONOMOUS SOURCES OF FUNDING FOR MULTILATERAL DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTIONS. THIS IS A SUBJECT RAISED IN OUR PROPOSALS FOR UN REFORM, AND WE MIGHT USE THIS GENERAL ASSEMBLY AS A MEANS OF GETTING MORE SERIOUS ATTENTION FOR THE PROPOSAL.

-- FINALLY, CALLING FOR UN ASSISTANCE TO LDCS IN A SEARCH FOR APPROPRIATE ENERGY SOURCES. THE UN SYSTEM CAN DO MORE TO HELP COUNTRIES EXPLORE FOR NEW SOURCES OF ENERGY AND IDENTIFY ALTERNATIVES TO OIL WHICH WOULD SERVE THEIR ENERGY NEEDS. WE MAY WANT TO PROPOSE A CONCENTRATED EFFORT THROUGHOUT THE UN SYSTEM IN THE YEAR AHEAD.

10. DISARMAMENT

AS A RESULT OF THE SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT, THE UNITED NATIONS WILL ASSUME NEW RESPONSIBILITIES IN THE FIELD OF DISARMAMENT. WE WILL USE THIS ASSEMBLY TO PUSH FORWARD SOME OF THE BREAKTHROUGHS THE SPECIAL SESSION ACHIEVED. WE WILL WANT TO ENSURE THAT THE PROGRAMS ENDORSED BY THE SSOD ARE SUCCESSFULLY LAUNCHED. OF SPECIAL IMPORTANCE IN THIS REGARD WAS THE RECOGNITION BY UN MEMBERS THAT THE PROBLEM OF CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS IS A
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LEGITIMATE SUBJECT FOR UN DISCUSSION. JAPAN HAS PLAYED A LEADERSHIP ROLE HERE AND WE WILL WANT TO WORK WITH THE JAPANESE. WE WILL ALSO WISH TO EXPLORE THE POSSIBILITY OF CODIFYING IN AN ACCEPTABLE WAY THE ADVANCES IN THE POSITIONS OF NUCLEAR STATES ON THE QUESTION OF SECURITY ASSURANCES FOR NON-NUCLEAR STATES WHICH THE US, THE USSR AND THE UK ANNOUNCED AT THE SPECIAL SESSION. THIS MIGHT BE DONE IN A SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION.

11. CONCLUSION

AT THIS POINT, WE DO NOT KNOW WHETHER WE WILL WITNESS A TUMULTUOUS SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY. THIS WILL

DEPEND ON THE COURSE OF OUR DIPLOMACY IN THE COMING WEEKS, AND IN THIS REGARD, IT WILL BE ESSENTIAL TO FACTOR UNGA CONSIDERATIONS WITH THE TIMING OF SOME OF OUR INITIATIVES IN THE COMING WEEKS.

THE COURSE WE PROPOSE WOULD NOT LIMIT OUR SIGHTS MERELY ON AVOIDANCE OF DISTURBANCE, HOWEVER. WE ALSO WANT TO SEE WHETHER IT IS POSSIBLE BOTH TO MAKE SOME POSITIVE ADVANCES IN SOME OF OUR SUBSTANTIVE POSITIONS AND TO STRENGTHEN THE UN AS AN INSTRUMENT FOR CONTRIBUTING TO OUR FOREIGN POLICY GOALS. TO ACHIEVE ALL THIS, IT WILL BE HELPFUL TO HAVE YOUR GUIDANCE EARLY SO WE CAN INTENSIFY AND DEEPEN OUR CONSULTATIONS IN CAPITALS. WE HAVE ALREADY BEGUN THESE, AND THUS FAR, THEY SEEM TO CONFIRM THE JUDGMENTS REACHED IN THIS PAPER. CHRISTOPHER

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